

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ACDA-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

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FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7771
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
USMISSION USBERLIN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY BONN
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AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 01 OF 02 PARIS 04339

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR, PINT, UR, FR
SUBJECT: PCF PARTY CONGRESS: GROWLS FROM MOSCOW

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REF: PARIS 3077 (NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY: KIRILENKO, THE USSR'S REPRESENTATIVE AT THE PCF PARTY CONGRESS MADE CLEAR TO A RAUCOUS CROWD OF SOVIET SYMPATHIZERS AT NANTERRE THAT MOSCOW IS MORE CONCERNED ABOUT "ANTI-SOVIETISM" IN THE PCF'S NEW LINE THAN OVER ITS DISCARDING OF DOCTRINAL BAGGAGE, SUCH AS THE CONCEPT OF THE "DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT." TO WHAT EXTENT MARCHAIS' NEW LINE HAS OR WILL FURTHER AGGRAVATE HIS RELATIONS WITH MOSCOW IS NOT YET CLEAR. CERTAINLY HE TRIED HARD TO LIMIT HIMSELF TO CRITICISM OF SOVIET TENDENCIES TO SUBSTITUTE "AUTHORITARIANISM AND REPRESSION" FOR POLITICAL DEBATE. MARCHAIS ALSO CAME DOWN HARD ON ASSERTIONS OF PCF INDEPENDENCE FROM THE SOVIET MODEL. EVEN SO THERE IS LITTLE DOUBT THAT HIS NEW, INCREASINGLY INDEPENDENT PUBLIC POSTURE, IN WHICH HE FEELS FREE TO CRITICIZE ASPECTS OF SOVIET BEHAVIOR, HAS COMPLICATED MOSCOW'S LIFE. WE EXPECT, NEVERTHELESS, THAT THE SOVIETS MAY WELL CALIBRATE THEIR FUTURE BEHAVIOR VIS-A-VIS MARCHAIS NOT ONLY IN LIGHT OF WHAT HE SAYS BUT OF HIS ACTUAL CHANCES OF PARTICIPATING IN POWER IN FRANCE. END SUMMARY.

2. OF THE VAST RANGE OF FOREIGN COMMUNIST OBSERVERS, KIRILENKO'S SOMBER PRESENCE AT THE PCF PARTY CONGRESS INEVITABLY ATTRACTED THE MOST INTENSE ATTENTION. WHILE HE WAS PHOTOGRAPHED AND TELEVISED WITH ALMOST THE CARE DEVOTED TO GEORGE MARCHAIS HIMSELF, HE MADE NO SIGNIFICANT PUBLIC STATEMENTS UNTIL HIS ADDRESS TO A NOISY PRO-SOVIET AUDIENCE AT NANTERRE ON FEBRUARY 6.

3. KIRILENKO PREFACED HIS MAIN POINTS WITH CONVENTIONAL PASSAGES ADUMBRATING THE ADVANCES MADE BY SOVIET SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY, THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF RECENT SOVIET-AMERICAN DISCUSSIONS TO BRAKING THE ARMS RACE AND CONDEMNING IMPERIALISM. HE THEN TURNED TO MATTERS OF MORE DIRECT CURRENT INTEREST IN FRANCE.

4. IN EVIDENT ALLUSION TO EFFORTS, OBVIOUSLY INCLUDING MARCHAIS', ON BEHALF OF UNJUSTLY DETAINED SOVIET DISSIDENTS, KIRILENKO DISMISSED THE "GREAT UPROAR" IN THE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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WEST ABOUT THE "RIGHTS OF MAN" AS JUST A NEW WAY TO DISCREDIT SOCIALISM AND TO DISTRACT ATTENTION OF THE MASSES FROM THE "BASIC PROBLEMS OF DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM". IN THE USSR LAW GUARANTEES ALL BASIC FREEDOMS, FORBIDDING ONLY WAR PROPAGANDA, RACISM, VIOLENCE AND IMMORALITY. AND IN A BARB AIMED MOST PROBABLY AT PLYUSCH, KIRILENKO SAID SOVIET SOCIALISM AND SECURITY IS PREJUDICED BY PERSONS WHO ENTER INTO DIRECT CONTACT WITH

COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY FOREIGN ORGANIZATIONS.

5. KIRILENKO SAID HE HAD FOLLOWED MARCHAIS' REPORT WITH GREAT ATTENTION. HE GAVE PCF CREDIT FOR BEING STRONG AND WELL-FOUNDED IN ITS RELATIONS WITH THE WORKING CLASSES, AND (MORE SURPRISINGLY) FOR BEING "LOYAL TO MARXIST-LENINISM." WHAT WAS "EXTREMELY IMPORTANT" WAS THE PCF'S BATTLE FOR AN "INDEPENDENT" FOREIGN POLICY AND FOR THE "CONSOLIDATION OF THE FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN OUR TWO PEOPLES." KIRILENKO THEN PAUSED TO READ THE PCF A SHORT LECTURE ON THE KEY ROLE THE COMMUNITY OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES PLAY IN THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST BATTLE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD BEFORE COMING TO HIS PRINCIPAL MESSAGE.

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QUOTING MARCHAIS AGAINST MARCHAIS HE POINTEDLY CITED
THE 1974 PCF CENTRAL COMMITTEE RESOLUTION THAT THE
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"BATTLE AGAINST ANTI-SOVIETISM IS THE WORK OF ALL."
AND, EVEN MORE POINTEDLY HE THEN QUOTED MARCHAIS' STATE-
MENT TO THE XXIV SOVIET PARTY CONGRESS WHERE MARCHAIS
DEFINED "ANTI-SOVIETISM, UNDER WHATEVER FORM OR FROM
WHEREVER IT MAY COME, AS A CRIME AGAINST THE INTEREST
OF THE WORKING CLASSES AND THE PEOPLES." THE SOVIET
PEOPLE, KIRILENKO CONCLUDED, WITH WHAT CAN ONLY HAVE
BEEN MEANT AS HEAVY SARCASM, KNOW THE REAL VALUE OF THIS
STATEMENT AND SEE IN IT A MANIFESTATION OF PCF SOLIDAR-
ITY.

6. COMMENT: WE FIND IT INTERESTING, ALTHOUGH HARDLY
SURPRISING THAT THE PCF'S DROPPING OF THE "DICTATORSHIP
OF THE PROLETARIAT" FROM ITS CATECHISM RECEIVED HARDLY
A MENTION AND DID NOT EXCOMMUNICATE IT FROM THOSE
"LOYAL TO MARXIST-LENINISM"; THAT MARCHAIS' RECENT
ADOPTION OF CAREFULLY SELECTED HUMANITARIAN CAUSES IN
THE USSR IS EVIDENTLY A MUCH MORE SERIOUS MATTER; BUT
THAT WHAT REALLY COUNTS, AND IS INDEED A CRIME, IS
ANTI-SOVIETISM, AGAINST WHICH KIRILENKO EVIDENTLY
MEANT TO GIVE MARCHAIS A SERIOUS PUBLIC WARNING -- EVEN
THOUGH THE LATTER IN HIS SPEECH HAD BEEN CAREFUL TO
STRESS PCF SOLIDARITY WITH OTHER NATIONAL PARTIES AND
TO GIVE CREDIT TO SOVIET SOCIALISM FOR HAVING ENDED
"THE EXPLOITATION OF MAN."

7. TAKEN AS A WHOLE IT SEEMS TO US THAT KIRILENKO'S
STATEMENT CONFIRMS SOVIET CONCERN OVER THE POTENTIALLY
UNHELPFUL IMPLICATIONS OF THE PCF'S NEW LINE, BOTH FOR
SOVIET IDEOLOGICAL AND STATE POLICY. ON THE OTHER HAND
WE THINK IT IS STILL MUCH TOO EARLY IN THE GAME TO
HAZARD ANY FAR-REACHING JUDGMENT AS TO THE IMPLICATIONS
OF THESE INCREASING PROBLEMS FOR SOVIET POLICY TOWARD

THE PCF OR GOF. OMNES, THE QUAI'S CHIEF FOR SOVIET AND
EASTERN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS, BELIEVES THAT MOSCOW WILL,
IN THESE AS IN OTHER RESPECTS, PROVE TO BE CONTROLLED
AND PRAGMATIC. IT WILL THEREFORE PROBABLY CALIBRATE ITS
FUTURE BEHAVIOR VIS-A-VIS MARCHAIS AND THE PCF, NOT ONLY
IN LIGHT OF WHAT HE SAYS, BUT MORE IMPORTANTLY IN TERMS
OF THE RISING OR FALLING PROSPECTS HE MAY HAVE FOR
PARTICIPATING IN GOVERNMENT IN FRANCE. THIS SEEMS TO
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US AS WELL A VERY REASONABLE FORECAST.
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